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BYZANTINE ARTISTS IN ITALY FROM THE SIXTH TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

[PLATE X.]

In a recent number of the *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* (May, 1893), M. Eugène Müntz, the well-known historian of art, published an article entitled *Les artistes byzantins dans l'Europe latine du V^e au XV^e siècle*. In this paper he makes a valuable contribution to the Byzantine question by collecting for the first time some documentary evidence of the presence of Byzantine artists in Western Europe. In the midst of contradictory affirmations of equal vehemence as to the presence or absence of Byzantine influence in the West during the Middle Ages, this is a useful piece of work, and I here offer a supplement to M. Müntz's paper in so far as it relates to Italy. Of course such information as this, consisting of artists' signatures and of texts, is of such an accidental nature that the absence of it would not necessarily entail the absence of Byzantine art and influence, and in this respect I cannot quite agree with M. Müntz when he states that the documents he has gathered prove that "the Byzantine influence was rather intermittent than general and constant;" for, in the first place, lists so incomplete as his and mine cannot give even an approach to a correct view. For example, the additions that are here made to his list fill up several of the vacant places which led him to conclude in favor of the intermittence of Byzantine influence. Furthermore, we know how seldom it was the Byzantine custom, up to a late period, for the artist to sign his works, and how unusual in literary notices of them it was to name these artists. For them the work was all, the man nothing: the idea in the work, which was a common possession and not one man's pride, was what made its worth; not the technique of it, which was but a means. I should not be surprised, in fact, if it would

be possible to find as many names of Byzantine artists in the West as in the East. What could be deduced from that? Certainly not that there were as many Byzantine artists in the West as in the East! It is therefore evident that even were all the existing signatures and all the literary notices to be gathered together they would represent but an inadequate and perhaps a one-sided view of Byzantine art in the West. The works of art themselves must, after all, be the only real criterion as to the prevalence or absence of Byzantine influence.

Having shown the limitations of the material presented in this paper, I will only add that in it I shall follow M. Müntz's good example in omitting the testimony of monuments bearing Greek inscriptions, although they certainly "do imply the personal and direct intervention of Byzantine artists," and I shall include a few portable works in European collections and churches which bear the signatures of Byzantine artists, although there may be doubts as to the presence of these artists in the West, such works being often objects of commerce. I shall also include some artists about whose Byzantinism there may be some controversy.

VI CENTURY.

For the VI century, when Byzantine art first obtained a strong foothold in Italy, M. Müntz finds nothing authentic, and correctly declines to accept the testimony for the presence of Italo-Byzantine artists at Monte Cassino given by a late mediæval document. Still I would suggest that during the reign of Justinian there could hardly have failed to be some Byzantine artists in Italy, especially during the years of occupation by Belisarius and Narses. Narses built in 565 over the Anio, on the Via Salaria Nova, a bridge which existed nearly until this century; and whose inscription is famous for its flowery and pompous diction.¹ Both Narses and Belisarius erected monuments in Rome and elsewhere.²

Of one Byzantine artist in Italy at this time we are not at all certain, for the majority of writers see in him merely a Mecænas

¹ GREGOROVIVS, *Geschichte Roms*, II, p. 130; HODGKINS, *Italy and her Invaders*, IV, p. 400.

² Belisarius built a *xenodochium* near the Via Lata and the monastery of S. Juvenal near Orte. Narses added a building to the Basilica of S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna.

and not an artist. This is the banker or *argentarius* Iulianus,³ who built many churches at Ravenna. Agnellus (*Lib. Pont.*), who wrote in the IX century, on the faith of inscriptions attributes to him S. Vitale,⁴ S. Apollinare in Classe,⁵ S. Maria Maggiore, and S. Michele in Affricisco.⁶

With one exception the style of these churches was the basilical, but in S. Vitale he built one of the world-renowned and typical Byzantine domical churches. Of course the question is whether he merely supplied the funds or was also the designer. These are the words of Agnellus that relate to the share taken by Iulianus in the construction of these churches at Ravenna. Of S. Vitale, in the life of archbishop Ecclesius, he says: *Ipsius temporibus ecclesia beati Vitalis martiris a Iuliano argentario una cum ipso praesule fundata est.* And again: *ecclesia beati Vitalis martiris a Iuliano argentario constructa est. Nulla in Italia ecclesia similis est in aedificiis et in mechanicis operibus. Expensas vero in praedicti martiris Vitalis ecclesia, sicut in elogio sancta recordationis memoriae Iuliani fundatoris invenimus, 26 milia aureorum expensi sunt solidorum.* The commemorative inscription in mosaic placed in the atrium of S. Vitale, as given in Agnellus, contains the following verses which seem to prove Iulianus' personal supervision:

*Tradidit hanc primus Iuliano Ecclesius arcem,
Qui sibi commissum mire perfecit opus.*

Of S. Maria Maggiore, after stating that Ecclesius built it on his own property, he says that it had been, however, begun by Iulianus after the archbishop's return from Constantinople, in 526: *inchoatio vero haedificationis ecclesiae parata est ab Iuliano, postquam reversus est praedictus Ecclesius . . . de Constantinopoli.* The colony of Greeks at Ravenna was very numerous at this time.

³ See HARTMANN, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Byzantinische Verwaltung in Italien.* VON QUAST, *Die althchr. Bauwerke von Ravenna.*

⁴ Beati martiris Vitalis basilica mandante Ecclesio vero beatissimo episcopo a fundamentis Iulianus argentarius aedificavit ornavit atque dedicavit consecrante vero reverendissimo Maximiano episcopo sub die XIII sexies p. c. Basilii junioris.

⁵ Beati Apolenaris sacerdotis basilica mandante, vero beatissimo Ursicino episcopo a fundamentis Iulianus argentarius aedificavit ornavit atque dedicavit consecrante vero beato Maximiano episcopo die Non. Maiarum ind. XII octies p. c. Basilii.

⁶ Consecuti beneficia archangeli Michaelis Bachauda et Iulianus a fundamentis fecerunt et dedicaverunt sub die Non. Mai quater p. c. Basilii junioris viri clarissimi consulis ind. VIII.

VII, VIII AND IX CENTURIES.

For these three centuries M. Müntz finds no documents. He calls attention to the fact that the election of a series of Greek and Syrian popes, between 685 and 752, must have attracted many Byzantine artists to Rome, adding a note on the introduction of Greek monks into the monastery of SS. Stephen and Silvester by Pope Paul I (757-67). In so far as Rome is concerned, such evidence as this is almost limitless during these centuries. The city was crowded with Greeks and its monasteries with Greek monks. If we take the region between the Aventine and the Tiber alone, we find that the river bank at that point was called in the VIII century *Ripa Graeca*, on account of the numerous Greeks: that there was a *Schola Graeca* attached to the Church of S. Maria, which gave it its name of *S. Maria in Schola Graeca*, afterwards called *in Cosmedin*. In this general region the Greek monks had establishments at SS. Alessio e Bonifacio, S. Saba, S. Balbina, S. Cesareo, S. Maria in Cosmedin, and, in other quarters, at S. Pantaleo, S. Silvestro in Capite, S. Prassede, S. Lorenzo, S. Anastasio, S. Gregorio and S. Basilio. But concerning the entire question of the Byzantine Greeks and their influence in Rome, I intend to treat in another paper, and will therefore add no more at present.

I can enumerate, however, the names of several artists who flourished in the ninth century: Lazarus, Chrysaphos, and Methodius.

Lazarus.—In the IX century a prominent Byzantine painter named Lazarus was sent from Constantinople to Rome by the Emperor Michael III (842-67), under the pontificate of Benedict III (855-58). This fact is chronicled in the *Liber Pontificalis* (Life of Benedict III), and further information concerning this artist is given in the continuation of Theophanes by Constantine Porphyrogenetos (l. III, ch. XIII). These are the words of the *Liber Pontificalis*: *Hujus temporibus Michael filius Theophili Imperatoris Constantinopolitanae urbis Imperator ob amorem Apostolorum misit ad beatum Petrum Apostolum donum per manum Lazari monachi, et Pictoriae artis nimie eruditi, genere vero Chazai, id est, Evangelium de auro purissimo, cum diversis lapidibus pretiosis. Calicem vero*

similiter de auro, et lapidibus circumdatum . . . Similiter et vestem de purpura Imperiali munda super altare majus ex omni parte cum historia, et cancellis, et rosis de chrysoclavo, magnæ pulchritudinis deornatam, etiam et velum de stauraci unum, cum cruce de chrysoclavo, et litteris de auro Græcis. The passage in the continuation of Theophanes relates how the Emperor Theophilus persecuted Lazarus who was a famous painter-monk of his age—*περιβόητος δὲ τηνικαῦτα κατὰ τὴν ζῆα γράφουσαν ὑπῆρχε τέχνην*—and how notwithstanding his tortures Lazarus painted a picture of John the Baptist for his church called *τοῦ Φοβεροῦ* and another of Christ for the Chalke.

Byzantine artists in Venice.—The IX century may also have witnessed an invasion of Venice by Byzantine artists. The Venetian historian Sansovino, in his *Venetia*, relates that doge Giustiniano Partecipazio, on his return from his journey to Constantinople, founded the church of S. Zaccaria in order to obey the desire expressed by the emperor Leo V, “who sent him not only money, but also workmen and excellent masters in architecture, in order to have the church beautiful and to secure its rapid erection.” This church was begun before 820, when the emperor died, and was perhaps finished in about 827, according to Cattaneo.⁷ It has been made over to such an extent that no trace of its primitive style remains.

Chrysaphos.—Chrysaphos, who must have been a Greek architect, was, early in the IX century, chamberlain of Pope Leo III, and was charged by him with the restoration of the great basilica of S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna. The suburb of Classe had been for some time falling into ruin, and Ravenna, for more than a century on a rapid decline, showed itself perfectly supine. The church of S. Apollinare was falling to decay and was without roof. Leo III sent his *cubicularius* Chrysaphus, with many workmen, to restore it and give it a new roof. This is recorded in two authorities almost contemporary with the event—by Agnellus in the *Liber Pontificalis* of Ravenna, and by the *Liber Pontificalis* of Rome. In his life of Archbishop Martin, Agnellus says :⁸ *Eo namque tempore Leo Romanæ ecclesiæ et urbis antistes misit cubicularium suum*

⁷ CATTANEO, *L'architettura in Italia dal secolo VI*, p. 237.

⁸ AGNELLI qui et ANDREAS, *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiæ Ravennatis*, ed. in *Mon. Germ. Hist.* in volume of *Script. rer. Langob.*

nomine Crisafum, et reliquos caementarios, restauravit tecta beati Apolenaris, omnia ex trabibus et laquearibus abiegnis, et omnia illius martiris tegumenta; una cum suo dispendio omnes suburbanæ civitates veniebant, omnia docaria, et subtegulata et omnia ligna abiegna et quæ necessaria erant Ravennenses cives volventes in angaria cum funibus et ingemas cetera. Caementariique ordinabant trabes super parietes, et perfecta sunt omnia; solaque hypocartosis hic pontifex infigere praecepit.

The same event is reported in less detail in the Life of Leo III in the *Liber Pontificalis*: "*Basilica vero beati Apollinaris martyris, atque Pontificis, quæ fundata est juxta civitatem Ravennam, cujus trabes prae nimia vetustate de annorum curriculis, et olitanis temporibus nimis emarcuerant, jamque penè ruituræ in tempore illo erant, isdem venerabilis Pater divinitus inspiratus, misit illuc, et per solertissimam, ac providam curam suam omnia sarta tecta ipsius Ecclesie simul cum quadriporticis suis noviter, ac firmiter restauravit, et in meliorem reduxit statum.*"

Methodius.—There was a Greek painter in the ninth century named Methodius who is famous as being connected by the Byzantine historians with the conversion of the Bulgarians, whose fears he excited by a wall-painting of the Last Judgment which he painted in the palace of their king, Michael, called, before his baptism, Bogoris.⁹ Constantine Porphyrogenetos¹⁰ describes him as a monk of the Romans, a painter, then in the Orient (μοναχόν τινα τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς Ῥωμαίων ζωγράφον · Μεθόδιος ὄνομα τῷ ἀνδρί). It has been customary to consider this painter Methodius to be identical with the Methodius, born at Thessalonica, who assisted his brother Cyril in converting the Slavs in Moravia, Bulgaria, Bohemia, Silesia, Croatia, and almost all the other countries in which the Slavic tongues were spoken. The two brothers are known as the Apostles of the Slavs. Methodius long survived his

⁹ SYMEONIS MAGISTRI Annales, ed. Bonn, p. 665.

Τῷ δ' αὐτοῦ ἔτει ἐκστρατεύει Μιχαὴλ ἅμα Καίσαρι διὰ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης κατὰ Γόβορι ἄρχοντι Βουλγάρων · τοῦτο μαθόντες οἱ Βούλγαροι . . . Χριστιανοὶ τε γενέσθαι καὶ ὑποτάσσεσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων ᾗτήσαντο. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τούτους ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀγαγὼν ἐβάπτισεν πάντας καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Μιχαὴλ ἐπωνόμασεν · ὃς εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ὑποστρέψας διὰ ζωγράφου Μεθοδίου λεγομένου τὴν κρίσιν καὶ ἀνταπόδοσιν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ γραφῆναι πεποίηκεν · διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον τὴν ἐκ πατρὸς τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ καθυφίσταται ἐπανάστασιν, κ. τ. λ.

¹⁰ Life of Emp. Michael son of Theophilus, ed. Bonn, p. 164.

brother and his work was the more important. Both came to Rome—Methodius more than once—and were the means of bringing the Slavic lands into the Roman fold.

A recent article by Jelic¹¹ has given us for the first time a scientific study of the famous Vatican ikon of SS. Peter and Paul, held, since the XII century to have been the very picture of the Apostles shown by Pope Silvester to Constantine. He shows it to be a votive picture presented to the Vatican basilica toward the middle of the IX century by Cyril and Methodius at the time of their joint stay in Rome in 867–9, in gratitude for their appointment in 869 to be bishops of the Slavic provinces. They had executed—probably in the same year—in the narthex of the basilica of S. Clemente, where both were afterward buried, a votive wall-painting in which they are represented as the donors. The figures are the same in both pictures, and the style is so similar as to lead Jelic' to conclude them to be by the same hand. The style is thoroughly Byzantine and of the IX century and the hand is, according to him, that of Methodius, whose identity with the painter of this name mentioned in the Byzantine annals he accepts without question. I confess that I am disposed to agree with him. Perhaps an argument in favor of this identity can be drawn from the expression in Constantine Porphyrogenetos, who describes the painter Methodius as *μοναχὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων* "a monk of the Romans": he means, of course, a monk of the Roman church, that is, subject to Rome and not to the Eastern church. This expression, which, under ordinary circumstances, would be unusual, seems natural in view of the unusual prominence given to the contest between the Eastern and Western churches as to who should evangelise the Slavs, and it accords with the interesting circumstance that although Cyril and Methodius were Greeks, yet they were loyal followers of the Roman church. To judge from the two paintings just mentioned Methodius did not represent the best type of Byzantine art as practised in the schools of Constantinople and Mt. Athos, but rather a provincial school, perhaps that of his birthplace, Thessalonica.

¹¹ *Nuove osservazioni sull' icone vaticana dei SS. Pietro e Paolo* in the volume *Archäologische Ehrengabe der römischen Quartalschrift zu De Rossi's LXX Geburtstage, herausgegeben von A. DE WAAL*, Rome, 1892, pp. 83–94.

S. Prassede.—Judging from their style, there is every probability that the important mosaics of the church of S. Prassede in Rome were executed by Greek artists under Pope Paschal II. This is confirmed by a passage in the *Liber Pontificalis*, where, after describing in glowing terms the rebuilding and decoration of the church, the writer continues, stating that Pope Paschal built in the same place a monastery to S. Prassede, which he filled with Greek monks: “*Construxit in eodem loco a fundamentis Cœnobium, quod & nomine Sanctæ Praxedis virginis titulavit. In qua & sanctam Græcorum Congregationem aggregans, quæ die, noctuque Græcæ modulationis psalmodiæ laudes omnipotenti Deo, Sanctisque illius, ibidem [i. e., in Ecclesia] quiescentibus, sedulo persolveret, introduxit.*”

I have mentioned the mosaics of S. Prassede, in connection with the establishment of Greek monks, for the reason that it is a well-known fact that Byzantine art was entirely in the hands of the monasteries, and that many a Greek monastery in Rome was probably a centre of Byzantine art. I am not aware that attention has ever been drawn to the fact that hereby one can explain the Byzantine character of so many of the Roman mosaics. A number of other examples could be cited. It is during a part of this period that the Byzantine style is paramount in Italian decorative sculpture. In his wonderfully acute study of Italian art before the year 1000, Cattaneo (*op. cit.*) has shown that this Byzantine decoration was paramount between the VI and XI centuries; that at times nearly all of it is the work of Greek artists residing in Italy, and at other times it is the product of Italian imitators. His arguments are quite convincing. Thus far it has been impossible, however, to ascertain the name of a single one of these Greek artists.

X AND XI CENTURIES.

The facts arrayed for these two centuries by M. Müntz are more abundant and interesting. They consist: (1) Of the late tradition regarding the architects of S. Marco in Venice; (2) of the influence of the Byzantine Princess Theophanu in Germany, after her marriage to Otho II; (3) of the presence at the court of Saxony of a Byzantine painter from Constantinople; (4) of the construction by Greek workmen of a chapel in the cathedral of

Paderborn; (5) of the presence of Greek monks in France; (6) of the Byzantine artists called to Monte Cassino by Desiderius, towards 1070 A. D. Only two of these relate to Italy and there are no artists' names. The artists whose names I am able to bring forward are: Buschetus (?), Theophylaktos and Eustathios.

I would first call attention, though without insisting, to three monuments of the XI century, the abbey church of Grottaferrata, near Rome, the abbey of SS. Silvestro e Martirio, near Orvieto, and the cathedral of Pisa. The monastery of Grottaferrata was founded at the close of the tenth century by Greek monks, led by S. Nilus, and its mosaics are Byzantine (see my article in *Gazette Archéologique*, 1883). The abbey of SS. Silvestro e Martirio, near Orvieto, was inhabited by Benedictine monks, and its buildings show a mixture of Byzantine and Romanesque styles.

Pisa.—The cathedral of Pisa was largely the work of the architect Buschetus, who was, according to the tradition, a Greek, though it has been argued that he was an Italian by birth, whose artistic education was made in Greece. His name is apparently Greek and certainly not Italian. It is an interesting coincidence that in 1099 the Byzantine Emperor Alexis I sent over funds to help complete the cathedral. It is well known that there are many points about this monument that are Byzantine, the most important being the cruciform plan with excessively long transepts approximating the form of a Greek cross, and the dome. One point which it would be interesting to study is the relation between the polychromatic external decoration of the group of Pisan and Lucchese churches and their cognates, and that of a few Byzantine churches and Mohammedan mosques of contemporary and slightly earlier dates. We may ask: Did not some such Byzantine artist as Buschetus introduce into Tuscan architecture this characteristic and beautiful style of external architecture, combining it with the false arcades of the Lombard style?

The baptistery at Pisa, though of later date, gives equal evidence of the presence of Greek artists in the exquisitely finished and purely Byzantine sculptures on its doorways, which are the finest of this style in Italy. They make us ready to believe, at least in part, Vasari's statement about the "scultori greci che lavorarono le figure e gli altri ornamenti d'intaglio del duomo di

Pisa e del tempio di S. Giovanni.” But, of course, his assertion is in itself of but little value.

Sicily.—One of the earliest known works of the Byzantine artists in Sicily is a miniature representing the Virgin in a Greek MS. written shortly after the Norman conquest. It is copied from an image in a chapel at Palermo finished in 1048. The MS. contains the text of the constitution of a pious fraternity of Greek ship-builders called S. Maria of the *Naupaktitessis*, whose place of reunion was in Palermo, in the church of S. Michael, attached to the monastery of the Naupaktitessi. This association was closely connected with other branches in the East, particularly in Constantinople; and it is not necessary to recall the fact that the Greek population in Sicily was very numerous, and that during the Norman rule the Greek liturgy remained in use, and also the Greek language. The fact of the habitual arrival in Messina of Byzantine artists is attested for later times by the synodal decrees of five archbishops of Messina—Antonio Lombardo, Andrea Mas-trillo, Simon Carafa, Giuseppe Cicala and Giuseppe Migliaccio—which exact that all *i maestri di Buone arti* coming to Messina from the East must, four days after their arrival, make profession of faith before the *protopapa*.

Michael.—One of the finest Greek manuscripts illustrated by Agincourt (*Hist. de la Peinture*, pl. LXXXI) bears on fol. 234 the inscription: *Scriptus est venerandus iste liber per manum mei Michaelis monachi peccatoris, mense Martio, 1. die, feriâ quinta, horâ sextâ, anni 6457 (=949 A. D.), indictionis septimæ.* The illuminated decoration, consisting merely of arabesques, animals and birds placed in circles or arches, is not of the kind that would be executed by a separate artist, and we may regard Michael as not only the scribe but the decorator of this beautiful specimen of Greek palæography. The fact that the inscription is in Latin proves almost conclusively that Michael was living in the West—although Agincourt is my only authority for its Latinity.

Calabria.—*Theophylaktos.*—In a crypt at Carpignano, a village to the N. W. of Otranto, is a niche whose frescoes are signed and dated. M. Diehl¹² made this discovery and reads the inscription

¹² CHARLES DIEHL, *Peintures Byzantines de l'Italie Méridionale. Les Fresques de Carpignano*: in *Bull. de Corresp. Hellen.*, 1885, pp. 211–213.

as follows: † Μνήσθ[η]τη, Κ[ύρι]ε, τοῦ | δούλου σου Λέων-|τος πρεσ-
βι[τέ]ρου | κ[αί] τῆ(ς) συμβίου | αὐτοῦ Χρυσό-|λεας κ[αί] Παύ[λου]
| τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. | Ἀμήν. Γραφέν δι-|ὰ χηρ[ὸς] Θεοφυλά-| κ[ε]του ζογ-
ράφου μηνι | Μα[ῖ]ο ἰνδικτίου[ος] β | ἔ]τους ̅ς̅ ̅ξ̅ ̅ξ̅. The donors are the
priest Leon, his wife Krusoleas and his son Paul. The date is
May, in the year of the world 6467=959 A. D. The painter is
the monk Theophylaktos. The subject of the wall-painting is Christ
enthroned, of remarkably good style. It is interesting for the
history of the type of Christ and important for an acquaintance
with the history of Byzantine art: all this is well demonstrated
by M. Diehl.

Eustathios.—In the same crypt near Carpignano, mentioned
above under the painter Theophylaktos, M. Diehl¹³ found the signa-
ture of a second artist, in another niche. The inscription is
painted at the base of another figure of Christ enthroned, and
gives the date of the year of the world 6528=1020 A. D. M.
Diehl reads the inscription: † Μν[ή]σ[θ]ητι, Κ[ύρι]ε, | τοῦ δούλου
σου Ἀ-|δριανοῦ κ[αί] τῆ(ς) | συνβίου αὐτοῦ κ[αί] | τὸν τ[έ]κνων αὐ-
τοῦ τοῦ . . . που|λῶ ἀνηκοδομή-| σ[αν]τος κ[αί] ἀνηστο-|ρ[ή]σαντ[ος]
τῆς παν-|σ[έ]πτας ὑπουάω | ταύτας. Μηνι μαρ[τί]ῳ | ἰνδικτίονος ̅γ̅ |
ετ[ους] ̅ς̅ ̅ϕ̅ ̅κ̅ ̅η̅. Γραφ-|έν δηὰ | χηρ[ὸς] Εὐ-|σταθίου ζο-|γράφου.
Ἀμήν.

The painter's name is Eustathios: the donors Hadrian, his wife
and son. The style of the work is quite different from the earlier
work of Theophylaktos. The type of Christ has grown severe and
sad, and it is interesting to note that the change in this type
during the sixty years that had elapsed since Theophylaktos is but
an echo of what happened throughout Byzantine art.

XII CENTURY.

For the XII century M. Müntz cites two examples: (1) The
Greek weavers established at Palermo by King Roger II in 1146;
(2) the Byzantine mosaicist, Marcus Indriomeni, who worked in
Venice in 1153.

Bion.—It is singularly exasperating to the historian to have so
little information regarding the personality and names of the

¹³ CHARLES DIEHL, *ubi sup.*, pp. 209–210.

Byzantine artists employed by the Norman Kings in Sicily. We know that they must have been numerous. The only name I can cite is that of a bronze caster named Bion, who cast in 1136 for King Roger the great bell for the cathedral of Palermo, with a relief of the Virgin. This bell was cracked in 1557 and made over. The inscription upon it was: *Ind. X fusa Panormi Rogerius Siciliae Italiaeque rex magni comitis Rogerii filius me dextera Bionis fundi ac D. Mariae dicari jussit.*¹⁴

The heads on the bronze doors of the Cappella Palatina are in the same style.

Theophilus.—The great mediæval technical manual of the arts written by the monk Theophilus, and entitled *Diversarum artium schedula*, probably dates from the latter part of this century. Theophilus shows in it a minute acquaintance with the methods of Byzantine artists, which could be gained only by having seen them at work in ateliers. It is in Bk. II, chapters XIII to XVI, that he describes Byzantine methods for the manufacture of glass vases, of glass mosaics, and of enamelled fictile vases. Theophilus is thought to have been either a German or an Italian, the presumption being in favor of the former nationality. It is probable that his acquaintance with Byzantine art was gained in the workshops of Sicily, Southern Italy, and Venice, for there is no reason to believe that he travelled in the East.

Daniel.—M. Charles Diehl,¹⁵ whose studies have given us the first clear knowledge of the Byzantine and Italo-Byzantine art of Calabria, has found on the vault of the crypt of S. Blasius near Brindisi in Calabria, not only the name of the Greek painter of the earliest frescoes in this crypt,—Daniel,—but their exact date, the year of the world 6705, the 15th indiction = 1197 A. D. The fragmentary inscription is thus deciphered and restored by M. Diehl. 'Ανοικ[ο] [δ]ομήθη κ[αὶ] ἀ[νιστορή]θη ὁ πάνσεπτος ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομαρτύρου Βλασίου ἡμῶν πατρὸς [ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγίου] κυροῦ ἡγουμένου Βενεδιτοῦς καὶ διὰ συνδρομῆν] τοῦ μ . . . αἰου τευ . . . καὶ διὰ χειρὸς μαιστροῦ Δανιήλ κ[αὶ] μρ . . . As M. Diehl remarks there are so few Byzantine frescoes that are surely dated that this inscription is very precious. Nothing is known of the hegoumen

¹⁴ DI MARZO, *Delle Belle Arti in Sicilia*, II, pp. 277-78.

¹⁵ CHARLES DIEHL, in *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* 1888; pp. 458-459.

or abbot Benedict for whom the work was executed, nor of the painter Daniel.

XIII CENTURY.

The four artists assigned by M. Müntz to the XIII century are : (1) The architect Nicholas of Constantinople, who built the drawbridge at the castle of Lucera ; (2) the painter Theophanes of Constantinople, who is supposed to have had his atelier in Venice in 1242 ; (3) the mosaicist Apollonius, said to have gone from Venice to Florence, and supposed to have been the master in mosaic painting of Andrea Tafi, of whom more anon ; (4) the painter Andrea Rico of Candia. To these I can add as new names : Melormus, Conxolus and Johannes.

Melormus.—In seeking to explain the formation of the style of Guido da Siena, the precursor of Cimabue, early in the XIII century, Dr. Thode asserts that he must have had as his master a Byzantine painter,¹⁶ and adds that the only name of such a painter known to us as then working in Tuscany is that of Melormus, who is said, in an ancient document cited by Wadding, to be the most famous Greek painter of his day, and who executed some images of S. Francis for the Count of Monte Acuto. His date is about 1212. It is unfortunate that Wadding, in his *Annales Ord. Min.* (I, 212), does not give his authority more definitely : but there can be no doubt of the fact itself.¹⁷

¹⁶ *Man darf wohl annehmen, dass es ihm nicht allein durch das Nachahmen byzantinischer Gemälde möglich wurde, den fremden Stil so sich eigen zu machen, sondern dass er bei einem fremden Meister lernte. Dass solche damals nach Mittelitalien gekommen sind, ist mehr als bloss wahrscheinlich : der einzige freilich, der uns mit Namen bekannt ist aus dieser Zeit, ist ein Melormus, der, nach Waddings offenbar auf einer alten Quelle beruhenden Aussage, der berühmteste griechische Maler, damals auf Befehl des Grafen von Monte acuto Bildnisse vom hl. Franciscus angefertigt hat. HENRY THODE, Studien zur Geschichte der Italienischen Kunst im XIII Jahrhundert, in the Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, 1890, p. 19.*

¹⁷ *Cf. HENRY THODE, Franz von Assisi, etc., 1885, p. 84. . verdient eine Bemerkung hier ihren Platz, die Wadding ohne seine Quelle anzugeben (I, 212) macht, nachdem er des Thomas Beschreibung angeführt : " dieselbe bestätigen die alten Bildnisse, die auf Befehl des Grafen von Monte acuto von dem in jener Zeit berühmtesten griechischen Maler Melormus gezeichnet wurden, während der heilige Mann unbeweglich im Gebete verharrte." Von jenem Melormus haben wir, so viel mir bekannt, sonst keine Kunde—die Tradition aber sah in einem jetzt nicht mehr nachweisbaren, von Pasta in seinen Pitture di Bergamo vom Jahre 1775 (S. 53) in S. Francesco daselbst erwähnten Portrait die Wiederholung jenes in dem Hause des Grafen von Monte acuto 1212 in Florenz gefertigten (VI).*

Conxolus.—The abbey of the Sacro Speco at Subiaco, famous as a principal centre of the Benedictines, has an extensive and interesting series of frescoes covering the VIII, XII, XIII, XIV and XV centuries. They are of no mean value for the development of painting in the XII and XIII centuries. Two painters alone have left their signatures on the walls of its churches and chapels, and both of these are Greeks—Conxolus and Stamatico. Fortunately we are able to date the work of Conxolus in the first quarter of the XIII century, about a half century before Cimabue. The second or subterranean church of the monastery is almost entirely painted in the Byzantine style of the end of the XII and the first half of the XIII century. On the left of the stairs by which one descends from the upper church, is a niche with a fresco of the Virgin and Child with two kneeling angels. An inscription above the head of the left angel reads: *Magister | Conxolu' p[ro]xit hoc op'*. A comparison soon shows that the frescoes on the neighboring wall and on the opposite wall are by the same hand, as well as the portrait of Innocent III in the corresponding position on the other side of the stairs. The pontiff is represented as presenting to the abbot a grant of privileges dated 1218. The historical documents of the monastery point to the year 1220 as the date for the painted decoration of the church by Abbot John VI. The three cross-vaults of the church are decorated with symmetrical frescoes. These, although repainted, show a similar style, probably the same hand, and I am inclined to attribute to Conxolus the entire series. The niche with the figures of the Virgin and Child was the most sacred place, and here it was natural that he should place his signature. These frescoes are important, and may be particularly studied as antecedent to the earlier series in S. Francis of Assisi. Conxolus should be regarded as the most important of the Byzantine artists working in Italy whose names are known to us.

Andreas Rico [PLATE X].—M. Müntz places under the XIII century, and I think with reason, the painter Andrea Rico of Candia. There seems no reason to believe that the date 1105, given in a catalogue as that of his death, is based upon anything but conjecture, and his style would indicate the XIII century. M. Müntz mentions the painting by him in the gallery of the Uffizi at Flor-

ence. There are several others, however.¹⁸ One painting is in the gallery of Naples.¹⁹ In my notes on the gallery of Parma I have found a record of two pictures by Rico, though one only is mentioned in Gsell-Fels' guide.²⁰

I noticed what seemed to me a singular coincidence of names between this Andrea Rico of Candia and the well-known painter and mosaicist of the second half of this century, Andrea Tafi, who worked in the baptistery at Florence, and was honored by Vasari with a Life, which is filled with errors even more than is his wont. This same Andrea Tafi is mentioned as follows in various contemporary documents :

1310, Andrea di Richo, vocato Tafo²¹; 1320, Andreas Ricchi (as selling paints²²); 1320, Andreas, vocatus Tafus, olim Ricchi.²³ The name Tafo is therefore not a family name, and the real name of Andrea Tafi is Andrea di Rico or Riccho, whose father died, as we see from the third document, shortly after 1320 (see *Frey, Die Loggia dei Lanzi*). It does not seem impossible to think that the Andrea Tafi of the mosaics in the baptistery of Florence and the Andrea Rico de Candia were but one man, and one might construct a romance as to how this Candiote (perhaps an Italian living in Candia), becoming known in Italy through his portable pictures, was called to Florence and took there a prominent place in the revival of mosaic painting.

Rico's painting, which is reproduced on PL. X, is of sufficient importance to merit careful study, for it is perhaps the most beautifully executed of the early portable Byzantine paintings in Italy. The inscriptions, which appear to be without any doubt original, are in themselves sufficient to place the painting later than about 1250, for they are in advanced Gothic majuscules and minuscules, and also sufficient to prove that this painting was executed in the West. The composition consists of the Virgin holding the Infant Christ in her arms, while above two angels, of smaller proportions,

¹⁸ There was one in the collection of M. Artaud: see EMERIC-DAVID, *Hist. de la peint. au Moyen-âge*, p. 123.

¹⁹ *Catalogue*, ed. 1893, p. 247.

²⁰ No. 447 of the gallery.

²¹ *Matricola artis collegi et universitatis medicorum, aromatariorum et merciariorum Porte sancte Marie civitatis Florentie*: cod. VII.

²² *Matricola dell' arte de' Medici Speciali e Merciai*: cod. VIII.

²³ In a list of druggists, compiled after 1320 by the notary public Spigliato Dini.

hover in the air. The Virgin bears the traditional Byzantine mantle covering the heads: its folds are broad and not broken up, as is so often the case, with gold lines. Over her head is the inscription **MT DI Mater Domini**. The Child turns his head sharply upward and to the left, gazing up at the angel. Only the second part of the inscription over his head remains: **XPS**. A peculiar naturalistic detail about the figure is the untied sandal which hangs from the Child's right foot by a single string. The flowered tunic is arranged in broad, graceful masses, but the mantle has closer folds marked with gold streaks. To the right of the Child's head there appears a long inscription which explains the special import of the picture—its relation to Christ's passion: *Qui primo candidissime gaudium indixit prehincat | nu(n)c passionis signacula car | nem vero Chr(istu)s mortalem i(n)dui. | Timens que letum talia pavet cernendo*. The Child is represented as looking in a startled manner at the instruments of His passion held by the two angels and being struck by fear. The angels above are delicate three-quarter figures ending in drapery: the angel on the right bears the cross and nails; the angel on the left the lance, the reed with the sponge and the chalice with the blood.

The panel is signed on the centre of the lower rim:

andreas rico de candia · pinxit.

It is interesting to note that a Byzantine picture exists at the church of S. Alfonso de Liguori in Rome which represents exactly the same composition, even to the hanging sandal. It is known to have been brought to Rome from the island of Crete in the xv century by a pious merchant fleeing from the Turkish invasion, but it is probably much older than this date. The existence of a specific Cretan school is confirmed by its mention in the Byzantine *Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς* or Guide of Painting (Pt. I, ¶ 51) which was the manual of the school of Mt. Athos.

Johannes.—In his *Hist. de l'Art*, Agincourt illustrates (pl. LXXXVIII) in its original size a good example of Byzantine portable paintings, representing the Presentation in the temple, which is in the Christian Museum of the Vatican. The painting is in tempera on wood. Below is the inscription: **XEIP IW**: "*By the hand of Johannes*." The style appears to indicate the xiii century, or at latest the early part of the xiv century.

I insert this artist and other Byzantine painters of portable pictures with the *caveat* that they may none of them have actually been executed in Italy, though the ascertained presence of other Byzantine artists makes it probable that some of them were on the ground.

XIV CENTURY.

For this period M. Müntz gives: (1) The painter Marc of Constantinople, who worked at Genoa in 1313; (2) the painter Demetrius of Pera, who appears also at Genoa in 1371; and (3) the painter George. To these I would add: Georgios Clotzata, Kyrillos, Stamatico, Antonios Pampilopos, Eutichios, Eustatheios and Donatus Bizamanus.

Georgios Clotzata.—Another tempera painting in the Vatican collection (Agincourt, pl. xc), with two saints on horseback, both named Theodore, is by Georgios Clotzata. There is on the back an inscription in three lines, the first, with the artist's name, reads: ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΧΕΙΡ ΚΛΟΤΖΑΤΑ.

Kyrillos.—There existed in 1756 in Palermo a tryptich described by Jacopo Gambacosta²⁴ and signed by the monk Kyrillos.²⁵ The inscriptions are all in Greek, and the signature reads: ΕΝ ΠΡΑΤΟΙΣ ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙ ΚΕ ΚΥΡΙΑΛΛΟΥ ΥΕΔΟΜΟΝΑΧΟΙ. The painting represents in the middle the Trinity, on the sides the Annunciation, and on the outside of the shutters S. Nicholas on the right and on the left relics of S. Spiridion. There is no clue to the date of this artist: he may belong to a later century.

Stamatico.—The second of the two Greek painters in the Monastery of the Sacro Speco at Subiaco is Stamatico. His name is inscribed in characters apparently of the XIV century, on a wall near the entrance of the chapel of the Virgin, as one descends the sacred staircase of S. Benedict from the second or subterranean church. The inscription was injured some years ago by the attempt of an archæologist to use acids. It reads at present: STAMATICO.GRECO PICT[OR]. According to the monks there was originally to be read the word *perfecit* after pictor. I would not venture to attribute to this painter any of the frescoes

²⁴ *Memorie per servire alla storia letteraria di Sicilia*, vol. II, pt. III, p. 271.

²⁵ DI MARZO, *Delle Belle Arti in Sicilia*, vol. II, p. 59.

on the staircase or in the adjoining chapel: they are of the xiv and early xv century. The guide to the monasteries of Subiaco, printed in 1840, states that there is a xvi century date attached to the signature, which has since disappeared. I am inclined to dispute this date, and to believe that a 5 was read where a 3 should have been seen.²⁶

Antonios Pampilopos.—A painting on wood, signed by Antonios Pampilopos, is in the Christian Museum of the Vatican. It represents the Virgin giving suck to the infant Christ, whose nimbus is accompanied by the letters O Ω N: the figures are on a gold ground. This is not among the examples of the early Byzantine school, and may be even later than this century.

Eutychios.—Agincourt reproduces on plate cxxv a cross, upon which eight half figures of saints are painted in miniature style. It was preserved in the sacristy of the Benedictine monastery of the Sacro Speco at Subiaco. The following inscription is painted on the cross in red letters: *Anno Domini mccc[l?]xxxviii hoc opus fecit fieri frater Franciscus de Santo Destasio de Nursia monachus monasterii Sublacensis . . . hoc opus fecit magister Euticio*. Both style and name make it tolerably certain that this artist was a Greek named Eutychios, the Latin inscription being no argument to the contrary.

From the three examples cited it would appear as if the monastery at Subiaco followed the example of its larger brother at Monte-Cassino in employing Byzantine artists.

Eustatheios.—Cardinal Fesch had in his collection a painting attributed to the xiv century with the inscription: EYCTAΘEIOC . . . ICTOPHCEN.²⁷

Donatus Bizamanus.—A large part of the mediæval population of Otranto was Byzantine, and many lingered long after the city was taken from the Greeks by Robert Guiscard in 1080; lingered, in fact, into the period of the Renaissance, up to the time of the destruction of the city by the Turks in 1480. During this

²⁶ *Memorie Storiche del Sacro Speco di S. Benedetto sopra Subiaco*. Here we read, on p. 36: *si mira un' effigie di S. Gregorio il grande, e sotto si legge il nome del greco pittore Stammatico, e fortunatamente vi ha l'anno aggiunto al suo nome cioè il 1489*.

²⁷ EMERIC-DAVID, *Histoire de la Peinture au Moyen-Age*, Ed. 1863, p. 129, note.

period a school of Byzantine painting appears to have flourished. Two artists' names have been preserved, both of a family named Bizamanus. Of these two Donatus is the earlier. Agincourt places him in the XII or XIII century: Schultz²⁸ in the XIII. I do not believe him to antedate the XIV century. M. Müntz says of these artists: "Nous savons cependant qu'à ce moment (xv siècle) encore une famille d'artistes grecs, les Byzamani résidait à Otrante."

There is a painting in tempera, on wood, by Donatus Bizamanus in the Christian Museum of the Vatican.²⁹ It represents Mary Magdalen at the feet of the resurrected Christ in the garden. The inscription on the back reads: "*Donatus Bizamanus pi(n)xit in Hotranto.*" The elaborate landscape might point to the beginning of the xv rather than the latter part of the xiv century.

M. Artaud had in his collection, at the beginning of the century, paintings by both the Bizamani, and he thought himself able to determine their date as about 1184 or 1190!!³⁰

XV CENTURY.

There is hardly anything of interest during this century. The painter George of Constantinople, mentioned by M. Müntz, is evidently the same artist he has spoken of under the preceding century. The only other item relates to the Greek weavers called to France by Louis XI in 1480. Byzantine art ceases its development in this century, even in the East.

George of Constantinople.—M. Müntz reports, under separate headings, two documents which, as he himself suggests, appear to relate to the same artist, George of Constantinople. One shows him to be in Venice in 1396, the other in Ferrara in 1404. He does not mention any paintings by this artist. One exists, however, in the Brera Gallery at Milan, No. 305, which is mentioned in Gsell-Fels. It is signed, and represents St. Mark, which is a reason for believing it to have been executed during his sojourn in Venice.

²⁸ *Denkmäler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien* I, 269, III, 147.

²⁹ AGINCOURT, *op. cit.*, pl. XCII.

³⁰ ARTAUD, *Considérations sur l'état de la peinture en Italie dans les quatre siècles qui ont précédé celui de Raphaël*. Paris, 1810, pp. 61 to 65.

Antonio da Negroponte.—Among the earliest Venetian painters in the first half of the xv century was Antonio da Negroponte, a monk, whose style shows him to have been a follower of Jacobello del Fiore, influenced by the Paduan school. There is a signed work by him at S. Francesco della Vigna in Venice, a Virgin enthroned in a bower of flowers and birds has the body of Christ lying on her lap. The inscription reads: *Frater Antonius da Negropoñ pinxit*.

Angelus Bizamanus.—This second member of the Bizamanus family is much later in date than Donatus, who may have been his grandfather, though the fact seems hardly to have been noticed except by Agincourt, who assigns him to the xiv or xv century. Schultz (*op. cit.*) can hardly have examined Agincourt's drawings of the Bizamani's pictures, for he assigns Angelus to the xi or xii centuries. At the earliest he belongs to the second half of the xv century. This is shown by the style and the inscription of his painting in the Vatican (Christian Museum). It represents the Visitation.³¹ The inscription reads: *Angelus · Bizamanus · Grecus pinxit . . . Ho[tr]an[el]o (?)*

Another painting by him, in the Berlin collection, has the crucifixion with the Virgin, Mary Magdalen and three other women, with an inscription on the back: † *Angelus Bizamanus pinxit in Hotranto*.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle do not apparently know of the existence of any of these works of the Bizamani, for they mention them in a note (vol. i, p. 68, Engl. Ed.) merely in connection with a S. George and the Dragon in the Naples Museum. I cannot say whether or no this picture is signed.

Theodoros.—I will add here the name of a painter contemporary with Angelus Bizamanus, or somewhat later. His name is Theodoros and his signed work is in the Vatican (Agincourt, pl. cxī). I should judge it posterior to Raphael, although Agincourt attributes it to the xiii or xiv centuries.

There are a number of other names that might be cited as probably those of Byzantine artists, but they will not be mentioned on account of the uncertainty. There are two to whom I shall merely refer:

³¹ AGINCOURT, *op. cit.*, pl. xciii.

1. *Liphas*.—This artist was placed by the Emperor Frederick II in charge of the construction of his castle at Capua, the most important artistic work of his reign.³² His name is certainly Greek.

2. *Pantaleon*.—One of the most artistic and elaborate figured mosaic pavements of the Middle Ages is that of the cathedral of Otranto, executed between 1163 and 1166 by the Priest Pantaleon, under Archbishop Jonathas.³³ Both the name and the Greek character of art in Otranto make it likely that we have here a Byzantine work, although it is quoted by Springer as an example of native art.

Although, for the reasons I have given at the beginning of this paper, I believe hardly any conclusions are to be drawn from the above material because so much more is to be gathered and classified before a fairly symmetrical picture can be imagined, yet I think the correct impression to be gained is that a stronger action than could have been predicted was exercised by the Greeks upon Italy by means of the actual presence of Greek artists.

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Princeton University,
October, 1893.

³² SCHULTZ, *Denkmäler*, IV, p. 7.

³³ SCHULTZ, *Denkmäler*, II, p. 267.



PANEL PAINTING BY RICO DI CANDIA. UFFIZI, FLORENCE.